

Message Text

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SUBJECT:SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH RAMSBOTHAM

1. RAMSBOTHAM CALLED ON THE SECRETARY AFTERNOON JANUARY 13 FOR A HALF-HOUR, GENERAL DISCUSSION INCLUDING ANGOLA AND MIDDLE EAST. BEGINNING WITH ANGOLA, RAMSBOTHAM NOTED THAT WHILE THE BRITISH WERE LOOKING FORWARD TO EXCHANGING VIEWS AND ASSESSMENTS IN THE NAC, HE WANTED TO MENTION TWO MAIN BRITISH OBJECTIVES: FIRST, TO ENSURE THAT THE MPLA DOES NOT DOMINATE ANY GOVERNMENT, TO THE EXCLUSION PARTICULARLY OF UNITA; AND SECOND, IN THE EVENT OF AN MPLA VICTORY, TO ENSURE THAT THE MPLA DOES NOT BECOME "TOO DEPENDENT" ON THE SOVIETS.

2. RAMSBOTHAM RAISED THE IMPLICATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT, OBSERVING THAT THE AFRICAN DIMENSION WAS TURNING OUT TO BE A KEY FACTOR, AND THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA HAD

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WITHDRAWN (BEFORE THE OAU MEETING) WE COULD HAVE GOTTEN A

FEW MORE VOTES. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT WHILE HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INTENT TO WITHDRAW BEFORE THE OAU MEETING, BEING CONCERNED WITH GETTING THE SOUTH AFRICANS OUT WAS ONLY PART OF THE PROBLEM. THE PROBLEM IS GETTING THE CUBANS OUT. RAMSBOTHAM URGED THE SECRETARY TO RAISE ANGOLA WITH THE SOVIETS DURING HIS

FORTHCOMING TRIP. HMG HOPED THAT THE US COULD URGE THE SOVIETS TO ENCOURAGE THE MPLA TO ACCEPT UNITA. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT ANY HONORABLE WAY OUT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE US. IF THE SOVIETS SAY THEY'LL GET THE CUBANS OUT TWO OR THREE WEEKS AFTER THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE OUT, THEN WE WOULD CERTAINLY LET THEM HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS WITHDRAWING FIRST.

3. RETURNING TO THE BRITISH OBJECTIVES, THE SECRETARY CONCEDED THAT IN THEORY THE WEST COULD PERHAPS WIN OVER THE MPLA IN A COUPLE OF YEARS AFTER A VICTORY. THE POINT IS, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT OUT FOR ANGOLA, BUT TO DEMONSTRATE SOMETHING TO THE CHINESE AND OTHERS. THERE IS A GLOBAL EFFECT. EVEN IF WE COULD WIN OVER THE MPLA, IN THE MEANTIME OTHER COUNTRIES WILL BE AFFECTED BY THE SUCCESS OF SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA.

4. TURNING TO THE MIDDLE EAST, RAMSBOTHAM SAID HE HOPED UK ABSTENTION ON THE PROCEDURAL MOTION ON PLO PARTICIPATION WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD; IT GAVE THE BRITISH SOME MARGINAL ADVANTAGE WITH THE FRENCH AND ITALIANS. HMG SEES ITS CONTRIBUTION IN GENERAL AS KEEPING THE EUROPEANS TOGETHER.

5. SIR PETER SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HMG WAS UNDER SOME PRESSURE FROM ARAB MODERATES, PARTICULARLY THE SAUDIS, TO COME UP WITH A MODERATE RESOLUTION IN THE UN SC DEBATE, IT HAD DECIDED NOT TO DISCUSS ANY SUCH RESOLUTION WITH ANYONE. UKUN WILL BE GUIDED BY FOUR PRINCIPLES WITH REGARD TO ANY RESOLUTION THAT EMERGES: (1) IT WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY "DILUTION" OF SC RES. 242 OR 338; (2) ANY REFERENCE TO THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS MUST BE BALANCED BY REFERENCE TO ISRAEL'S RIGHTS AS A STATE; (3) IT WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY REFERENCE TO A SEPARATE PALESTINIAN STATE; AND (4) IT WILL

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NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING THAT WOULD BAR THE WAY TO FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

6. RECALLING THAT HE HAD MENTIONED TO THE SECRETARY EARLIER A GENERAL FORMULA ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION DEVELOPED BY THE EC-9 FONMINS, RAMSBOTHAM READ THE TEXT: BEGIN QUOTE: A PEACE SETTLEMENT TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE MUST ON THE ONE

HAND RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL STATES IN THE REGION, AND NOTABLY OF ISRAEL, TO EXISTENCE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED FRONTIERS, AND ON THE OTHER, RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO EXPRESS THEIR IDENTITY. END QUOTE.

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7. RAMSBOTHAM SAID HE GATHERED THAT THE US ALSO WAS WAITING TO SEE THE SHAPE OF ANY RESOLUTION THAT EMERGED FROM THE SC DEBATE, AND THAT WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THE UN NOT GET INVOLVED AT ALL. THE BRITISH, TOO, HOPED THE EXERCISE WOULD RESULT IN AS LITTLE DAMAGE AS POSSIBLE. THE SECRETARY INTERJECTED THAT THERE WOULD BE DAMAGE, AND SAID THAT WE CANNOT GO BEYOND WHAT WE HAVE SAID IN THE PAST, AND MAYBE NOT EVEN THAT FAR IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONTEXT. KISSINGER

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